

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: XGDS(2)
TAGS: PFOR, TZ, UN
SUBJECT: KEY ISSUES AT 29TH UNGA

REF: STATE 184584, 181646 AND 062535

1. SUMMARY: US AND TANZANIA DISAGREE ON MANY KEY ISSUES AT 29TH UNGA. US DEL SHOULD EXPECT TANZANIA TO TRY TO RALLY SUPPORT IN LDC WORLD FOR HER VIEWS AND AGAINST OURS WHERE DISAGREEMENT NOW EXISTS. THERE HAS SEEMINGLY BEEN HARDENING RECENTLY OF TANZANIAN POSITIONS ON UNGA ISSUES WHICH PORTEND DIFFICULTY IN GETTING TANZANIANS TO COMPROMISE. END SUMMARY.

2. JOSEPH WARIOBA, WHO HEADS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION DIVISION OF FONMIN AND IS TANZANIA'S EXPERT ON UN MATTERS, IS IN CARACAS, VENEZUELA FOR LAW OF SEA CONFERENCE. HE IS SCHEDULED TO GO STRAIGHT TO NEW YORK CITY FOR 29TH UNGA. THEREFORE, I RAISED MATTERS IN STATE TELEGRAMS UNDER REFERENCE ON AUGUST 26 WITH BERNARD MUGANDA, ACTING DIRECTOR OF EUROPE-AMERICAS DIVISION IN FONMIN, WHO IS TO BE MEMBER OF TANZANIAN DELEGATION FOR FULL TERM OF 29TH UNGA. WE TALKED FOR SOMEWHAT OVER ONE HOUR IN MUGANDA'S OFFICE AT MINISTRY.

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3. OPENING CONVERSATION, I STRESSED US INTEREST IN KNOWING SPECIAL CONCERNS OF TANZANIA AT IMPENDING UNGA IN ORDER FOR US TO TRY TO TAKE THOSE CONCERNS INTO ACCOUNT WHERE POSSIBLE (STATE 181646). MUGANDA SAID TANZANIA WOULD PREPARE LIST OF PRIORITY ITEMS FOR 29TH UNGA BUT IT HAS NOT DONE SO YET. IF THIS PRIORITY LIST IS COMPLETED

PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE ON HIS VISIT TO CARIBBEAN, WHILE WILL TAKE PLACE JUST BEFORE OPENING OF 29TH UNGA, HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO REVIEW IT WITH ME.

4. WE THEN DISCUSSED ITEMS MENTIONED IN STATE 184584 AS FOLLOWS:

A) SOUTH AFRICA: STRESSED DAMAGING PRECEDENT WHICH MIGHT BE ESTABLISHED FOR ALL GOVERNMENTS AND POSSIBLE DAMAGE TO UN IF MEMBER STATE EXPelled BECAUSE OTHER MEMBER STATES DISAGREED WITH ITS INTERNAL POLICIES. US IS OPPOSED TO SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY OF APARTHEID. US ALSO OCCASIONALLY ABHORRED, HOWEVER, INTERNAL POLICIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES, E.G. BURUNDI GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO PUT TO DEATH THOUSANDS OF HUTU FEW YEARS AGO AND SOVIET REFUSAL TO PERMIT RUSSIANS OF JEWISH FAITH TO EMIGRATE UNHINDERED FROM USSR. NEVERTHELESS, US HAS NOT URGED EXPULSION OF BURUNDI AND USSR FROM UN. MUGANDA ADMITTED LOGIC OF US REASONING BUT SAID AS FAR AS TANZANIA IS CONCERNED IT WOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK EXPULSION OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM UN AND TO ISOLATE IT IN EVERY OTHER WAY POSSIBLE.

B) PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES: TO MY PLEA TO LET PARTIES CONCERNED GET ON WITH DECOLONIZATION OF PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES IN AFRICA WITH INTERFERENCE UNGA, MUGANDA REPLIED TANZANIA WOULD CONTINUE TO KEEP PRESSURE ON PORTUGUESE IN EVERY FORUM AVAILABLE. TANZANIA IS WEAK, MUGANDA EXPLAINED, AND TO ENCOURAGE CHANGE IT MUST EXPLOIT EVERY CHANCE IT GETS WHETHER SUCH EFFORTS "HORTATORY" OR EXAGGERATED, WHICH INDEED THEY OFTEN ARE. THUS AT THIS UNGA TANZANIA WILL URGE DISCUSSION PORTUGUESE COLONIES AND WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS PORTUGAL TO GRANT EARLY INDEPENDENCE TO THEM.

C) NAMIBIA: TANZANIA UNDERSTANDS AND APPRECIATES US ACCEPTANCE 1971 ICJ DECISION, MUGANDA SAID, BUT TANZANIA BELIEVES WORLD COURT VERDICT SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED. TANZANIA WILL URGE, THEREFORE, THAT UN TAKE STEPS TO ENFORCE RULE OF LAW IN NAMIBIA.

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D) KHMER CREDENTIALS: TANZANIA RECOGNIZES SIHANOUK REGIME. ITS PRESS REGULARLY REFERS TO LON NOL "(US) PUPPET GOVERNMENT." ARGUMENTS STATE 62535, ESPECIALLY THAT NOT ONE OF GKR'S NON-COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA RECOGNIZES GRUNK, NOT RPT NOT PERSUASIVE. MUGANDA SAID TANGOV DID NOT APPROVE COUP D'ETAT AGAINST PRINCE SIHANOUK AND IMPLIED US WAS IMPLICATED IN HIS OUSTER, WHICH I DENIED. TANGOV ALSO BELIEVED GRUNK WOULD BE ACCEPTED AT 28TH UNGA AND WERE SURPRISED WHEN IT WAS NOT. TANGOV WILL VOTE FOR ACCEPTANCE GRUNK AT 29TH UNGA. MUGANDA SAID HE AND OTHERS IN TANGOV AGREE WITH STATED US POSITION THAT KHMER PEOPLE SHOULD RESOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS, BUT TANZANIANS DO NOT BELIEVE THIS POSSIBLE UNTIL US GETS OUT OF CAMBODIA.

E) KOREA: TANZANIA ALSO RECOGNIZES NORTH KOREA WHICH HAS LARGE RESIDENT MISSION HERE. AGAIN MUGANDA SIAD US AND TANZANIAN VIEWS

ARE IN CONFLICT. TANZANIA BELIEVES UNC SHOULD BE ABOLISHED AND US MILITARY FORCES SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH KOREA, NO MATTER UNDER WITH GUISE THEY ARE THERE.

F) HUMAN RIGHTS: MUGANDA HAD NO TROUBLE CONCURRING IN OUR VIEWS ON ELIMINATION OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE OR OF TORTURE. HE DEMURRED, HOWEVER, AT MEASURES TO HAVE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ON NATIONAL MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN PROTECTION OF PERSONS UNDER DETENTION. HE FEARS SUPPORTING SUCH COMMISSION MIGHT PUT TANZANIA IN POSITION OF HAVING TO ACCEPT RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION WHICH MIGHT BE AWKWARD. FOR EXAMPLE, MUGANDA SAID, TANZANIA HAS LAW PERMITTING PREVENTIVE DETENTION WITHOUT GOVERNMENT HAVING TO SHOW CAUSE IN COURT FOR SUCH DETENTION. TANGOV BELIEVES AT THIS STAGE ITS DEVELOPMENT IT NEEDS SUCH LAW. MUGANDA SAID HE DOUBTS UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WOULD BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND OR APPRECIATE TANGOV VIEW THIS REGARD.

G) MIDDLE EAST: TANZANIA BELIEVES THIS ISSUE TOO SHOULD BE DEBATED BY UNGA. UN FORUM SHOULD BE USED AS INSTRUMENT FOR PUTTING FORTH VIEWS OF WEAKER NATIONS AND PUBLICLY REASSERTING SOLIDARITY OF DEVELOPING NATIONS. IN THIS LAST SENSE, CONTENTIOUS ISSUES THAT UNITE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AGAINST COMMON ENEMY ARE POSITIVELY SOUTHT. ISRAEL IS AN EASY SCAPEGOAT.

H) UNRWA: MUGANDA AGREED WORK OF UNRWA SHOULD CONTINUE BUT HE CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD NOT COMMIT TANZANIA TO TALKING TO OIL PRODUCING STATES IN ARAB WORLD ABOUT NEED TO CONTRIBUTE MORE TO UNRWA BUDGET. WE ARE TRYING, MUGANDA ADDED IN ASIDE, TO GET ARAB OIL STATES TO GIVE FINANCIAL AID TO NON-OIL-PRODUCING STATES IN DEVELOPING WORLD.

I) UNEF/UNDOF FINANCING: TANZANIA ACCEPTS US VIEWS THIS SUBJECT.

J) DISARMAMENT: TANZANIA ALSO ACCEPTS US VIEWS THIS SUBJECT. MUGANDA DID NOT RAISE ISSUES OF US EXPORT NUCLEAR REACTORS TO EGYPT AND ISRAEL, IOPZ, OR IRANIAN PROPOSED MENFZ AND, THEREFORE, I DID NOT.

K) STEAMROLLER TACTICS: MUGANDA REITERATED TANZANIAN VIEW THAT LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES MUST HANG TOGETHER OR THEY WOULD HANG SEPARATELY. TANZANIA WILL ACCEPT HIGHER OIL PRICES IF THAT IS PRICE FOR UNITY IN LDC WORLD. ALSO TANGOV DOES NOT OPPOSE SPECIFIC LDC USING ITS NATIONAL RESOURCES IN MANNER TO FURTHER ITS OWN INTERESTS AT EXPENSE OF DEVELOPING WORLD. SUCH NATIONAL RESOURCES ARE OFTEN ONLY WEAPON LDC HAS AGAINST DC. IN EVERY INTERNATIONAL FORUM, LDCS MUST WORK TOGETHER. THEREFORE, WHAT LOOKS LIKE STEAMROLLER TACTICS TO US IS ONLY METHOD WEAK AND POOR HAVE OF PROTECTING THEMSELVES. SPEECH BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AT UN, MUGANDA SAID, IS WORTH 50 SPEECHES BY OTHER FONMINS. SPEECH BY FONMIN MALECELA, ON OTHER HAND, IS ONLY WORTH 3 OR 4 SPEECHES BY ANY OTHER FONMIN, AND ON SOME SUBJECTS ONLY WORTH ONE.

L) SYG'S EMERGENCY OPERATION: TANZANIA APPRECIATES US WILL TRY TO SUPPORT SY'S APPEAL AND USE OF BILATERAL CHANNELS IS APPROPRIATE.

M) WORLD CONFERENCES ON FOOD AND POPULATION: TANZANIA SYMPATHETIC TO PURPOSES THESE CONFERENCES AND WILL SEEK PARTICIPATE CONSTRUCTIVELY.

N) UNDRO: MUGANDA UNAWARE UNDRO'S PROBLEMS, BUT SEEMED TO ACCEPT AS SENSIBLE US VIEW THAT 29TH GA SHOULD INCREASE UNDRO STAFF AND DIRECT UNDRO TO CONCENTRATE ITS EFFORTS ON DEVELOPING CLEARING HOUSE CAPACITY. AGREED, FURTHER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR UNDRO SHOULD ONLY BE CONSIDERED AFTER COMPETENCE AS CLEARING HOUS DEMONSTRATED.

O) UN BUDGET: MUGANDA TOOK NOTE US POSITION THAT INCREASE OF UN BUDGET ESSENTIAL AND INCREASE PROPOSED IS MINIMAL. IN LIGHT
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TANZANIA'S OWN FINANCIAL PLIGHT, HOWEVER, HE MADE NO COMMITMENT.

P) EVALUATION MECHANISM: ACCEPTED US ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT ITS INITIATIVES TO ESTABLISH SUCH MECHANISM FOR UN SYSTEM.

Q) UN SALARY INCREASE: TANZANIAN SALARY SCALES ARE KEPT LOW BY GOVERNMENT POLICY. TANZANIA IS SYMPATHETIC, THEREFORE, TO RESISTING SALARY INCREASES FOR UN EMPLOYEES. MUGANDA ADDED WRYLY, HOWEVER, THAT WHEN METROPOLITAN COUNTRY OPPOSES SALARY RISES FOR EMPLOYEES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, LDCS BELIEVE IT IS BECAUSE PROPOSED INCREASES IN SALARY ARE TO BE PAID TO COLORED MAN. I EMPHASIZED COMPARISONS OF UN SALARY SCALE TO US CIVIL SERVICE SALARIES (PARA 28, STATE 184584) WHICH SEEMED TO MOLIFY MUGANDA AND TO REASSURE HIM THAT US OPPOSITION TO INCREASE IN UN SALARIES IS NOT RPT NOT RACIALLY INSPIRED.

5. DID NOT RPT NOT DISCUSS ITEMS WHERE RESPONSE TO BE GIVEN ONLY "IF ASKED", E.G. RHODESIA, ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION ON RAW MATERIALS, SPECIAL FUND, OR MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS.

6. COMMENT: ATMOSPHERE OF DISCUSSION WAS FRANK AND CANDID. NEVERTHELESS, AS ABOVE REPORT SUGGESTS, TANZANIA AND US DISAGREE ON MANY KEY ISSUES SLATED FOR 29TH UNGA. IN REVIEWING UNGA ISSUES WITH WARIOBA PAST TWO YEARS, TANZANIAN DIFFERENCES WITH US HAVE BEEN MORE MUTED. IN PART THIS WAS perhaps because WARIOBA HAS SUCH DETAILED KNOWLEDGE MOST UNGA ISSUES THAT HE COULD EMPHASIZE IN DISCUSSION TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF ISSUES. SUBSEQUENT TANZANIAN ACTIVITIES AND VOTES IN UNGA, HOWEVER, WOULD THEN REVEAL QUITE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES WITH US VIEWS. WHILE WARIOBA MAY HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT DISSEMBLING, I SUGGEST MORE RADICAL TANZANIAN POSITIONS MAY HAVE BEEN ADOPTED LATER IN NEW YORK, PERHAPS IN RESPONSE TO IMPERATIVES TANZANIANS FELT AS LEADER IN LDC WORLD -- A ROLE THEY TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN MAINTAINING. IN

ANY EVENT, MUGANDA'S SOMETIMES BLUNT REPLIES REPORTED ABOVE, I BELIEVE, REFLECT QUITE ACCURATELY CURRENT TANZANIAN VIEWS AND CONCERNS. THESE REPLIES SUGGEST A CERTAIN HARDENING OF POSITION ON THESE ISSUES. AS A RESULT, I DOUBT WE WILL BE ABLE TO GET TANZANIANS TO COMPROMISE SIGNIFICANTLY THEIR VIEWS AT 29TH UNGA.

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